

YOUR STAKE in the PEACE

A STUDY COURSE
ON THE PROBLEMS
of the
FUTURE WE FACE



COMMISSION TO STUDY THE ORGANIZATION OF PEACE
8 West 40th Street
New York, N. Y.

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*Based upon the Reports of the
Commission to Study the Organization of Peace*

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FOREWORD

HERE is a course of study which should help us to understand the problems of "winning the peace." It is designed for the use of groups anxious to undertake such a study. It should be used with the realization that it is going to make a tremendous difference in the lives of us all whether or not this peace is won.

First, some of the bases on which any lasting peace must be secured are discussed. Then some of the most urgent problems of the immediate post-war years are suggested. But most of the outline is taken up with consideration of how the United Nations can best speed victory, weather the storms of the "transition period" and lay the foundations of world order.

There are suggested questions for study and pamphlet references at the end of each section. Each section may be made the subject of one or more periods of discussion, depending on the number of meetings your group plans to hold. At such meetings it is well to have a discussion leader, and to have assigned preliminary readings. A list of book references supplements the suggested pamphlet references. A Directory of Agencies from which pamphlets suggested as references can be obtained will be found on page —. In the suggested readings, it is indicated from which agency each pamphlet should be ordered.



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THE WORLD WE WANT

WE say we are going to win the peace as well as the war. This statement itself means we realize that our victory in the First World War was not complete, that victory must include more than just defeating the armies of our enemies. We know that we must win a complete military victory. But this time we know that there is much more that we must also do.

Therefore, if we are going to do that "much more" and thus win the peace, we must understand now what needs to be done. If we wait until the day of military victory it will be too late.

Today you live in a world which is in a sense actually much smaller than our thirteen colonies were at the time of our Declaration of Independence. If the world were at peace today, you could step into an airplane at your local airport and arrive at the airport of any other city of this earth in not more than two and a half days! We marvel at this, but we must do more than marvel. We must plan our future in such a way that our small and interdependent earth may be organized as a world of order among nations, and opportunity among men. If we do not do this, we shall have only a short interval before another war. If you do not want your sons to go to war again in a few years, if you want your job and income to be reasonably safe, if you want to live in dignity and freedom, you must help to plan a world in which war will not happen again.

How shall we go about this? Perhaps the best thing to do first is to ask yourself what you want in your own future. In spite of all the ways in which our world is changing, you will find that you still want freedom of mind and spirit, and freedom from fear and want as well. The time has come when no nation through its own strength or wealth alone can make its people secure or prosperous for long, nor guarantee their freedom and dignity. This can now be done only in a world of international order. We need to understand that peace is not just the absence of war but a substitute for war, a process of settling disputes without violence. Such a peace must be based on a system of international organization. Any such system must mean that nations give up some of their sovereign rights. This does not mean that nations will disappear. It means that they will gain the opportunity to develop themselves in peace and freedom by giving over certain powers to international authority. We know ourselves that we could not

live in peace and freedom if we did not give to the authority of our cities, states and nation certain powers over us. The time must come when nations must agree to do what individuals have done for many centuries in order to live in peace.

What are the powers that must be given over to international authority? That is one thing we need to think through. What can we gain from a study of past attempts at international organization—the League of Nations, the World Court, the International Labor Organization? That is something else we need to consider. Above all we need to realize that it is going to make a tremendous difference to us whether or not we can find the courage and the faith to build a world organized for order and opportunity. If we cannot, the whole history of the last twenty years teaches us that attempts at isolation, neutrality, “balance of power,” and reliance on national arms alone, will not bring us security, lasting prosperity, or any certainty that we can maintain our ways of freedom.

Questions

1. Why do you think the peace of 1919 failed?
2. What has been wrong with our idea of peace? Do treaties “make” peace? What sort of peace could be a substitute for war?
3. What were to be the chief functions of the League of Nations, the World Court, and the International Labor Organization? To what extent and in what fields has each succeeded?
4. “The world must evolve from League to federation.” Discuss this statement. What is the nature of federation? What can we learn from a study of the relation between our states and our national government?
5. What do you believe to be the most permanent and basic wants of man, the wants for which he always seeks fulfillment? What sort of government can best secure this fulfillment? What sort of world?

Suggested Readings

COMMISSION TO STUDY THE ORGANIZATION OF PEACE. Preliminary Report and Monographs. New York, 1941, 310p., 25c.

———. Toward Greater Freedom: Problems of War and Peace. New York, 1942, 80p., 15c.

DEAN, VERA M. The Struggle for World Order. Headline Books No. 32, Foreign Policy Association, New York, 1941, 96p., 25c.

INTERNATIONAL CONSULTATIVE GROUP OF GENEVA. "Causes of the Peace Failure, 1919-1939." *International Conciliation* No. 363 (October 1940) p.335.

JOHNSEN, JULIA E. (comp.) International Federation of Democracies. The Reference Shelf Vol. 14, No. 8, H. W. Wilson Company, New York, 1941, 263p., \$1.25.

LEAGUE OF NATIONS ASSOCIATION. Essential Facts Underlying World Organization. New York, 1940, 47p., 10c.

———. The International Labor Organization. New York, 1940, 46p., 10c.

OFFICE OF WAR INFORMATION. The United Nations Fight for the Four Freedoms: The Rights of All Men Everywhere. Washington, D. C., 1942, 16p., *free*.

WILLKIE, WENDELL. One World. Simon and Schuster, New York, 1943, 86p., \$1.00.

II.

FROM WAR TO THE ORGANIZATION OF PEACE

We must realize that the world we want cannot be found except through building up a system of international order. We must also realize, however, that this cannot be done all at once. We shall do well to keep in mind the need of a period of transition from war to peace. We shall not have a peaceful world at the moment when the armies of the United Nations finally defeat those of the Axis. There will be tremendous problems of readjustment which must be met before we can have even the conditions under which we can set up a permanent system of international order. Many people realized during the First World War that it would be wise to plan on such a period, but the idea was lost sight of and an attempt was made to come quickly to a permanent settlement and to return to prewar conditions. This time we must not repeat this mistake either. This time we know, as we could not before, many of the problems that will have to be met in the transition period. Among these will be restoring order, overcoming famine and disease, rebuilding ruined cities and systems of transportation, et cetera. The time to think them through and plan to meet them is now during the actual fighting, while the United Nations are drawn together by a sense of emergency. Let us try to get clear what these problems will be and how we can best plan to meet them.

Questions

1. What reasons can you give for planning for a necessary period of transition?
2. What reasons are there for thinking that we can't this time "return to normalcy"? In what ways were we wrong in trying to do so before?
3. Enumerate the main problems of the Transition Period.
4. How can we best plan to prevent unemployment here in the United States and elsewhere at the end of the war?
5. In meeting which problems of the Transition Period must the United States take a leading part? Why?

Suggested Readings

COMMISSION TO STUDY THE ORGANIZATION OF PEACE. Second Report and Papers. New York, 1942, 130p., 15c.

- . British Business Associations on Post-War Reconstruction. *Bulletin*, Vol. II (December 1942), 16p., 10c.
- MILLSPAUGH, ARTHUR C. Peace Plans and American Choices: The Pros and Cons of World Order. The Brookings Institution, Washington, D. C., 1942, 107p., 50c.
- STEWART, MAXWELL S. After the War? Public Affairs Pamphlet No. 73, New York, 1942, 32p., 10c.

III.

THE UNITED NATIONS AND THE ORGANIZATION OF PEACE

A. THE UNITED NATIONS DURING THE WAR

Our Aims

The United Nations are pledged by their Declaration of January 1, 1942 to make war together until the Axis is defeated, and to make peace together on the basis of the Atlantic Charter, which looks toward a world in which "all the men in all the lands may live out their lives in freedom from fear and want." At present the United Nations are on the way to military victory. But we need not only to keep our aims in mind but to plan now to make our victory total and lasting.

At the end of the last war, it was all too easy to drop the means of cooperation that the Allies had worked out during the war. This time we are trying to develop a sense of far greater unity, and we must try also to continue and develop definite patterns for military and economic cooperation, and for cooperation in the organizing of relief and rehabilitation. Only thus can we find ourselves on the day of victory with enough machinery working to keep our unity through the period of transition and lay the foundations of a lasting system of world order. But we must realize how terribly important it is to develop this machinery during the war. If we and our allies can feel ourselves part of a "going concern" we have a much better chance of working out a true international system than we shall have if we have to *join* an international system after the fighting is done. Also, only in this way can the fighting of the war, the organization of reconstruction, and the laying of the foundations of a lasting system be seen as parts of one great continuous effort to win the war and peace.

Questions

1. Discuss the advantages and the difficulties of planning for peace while fighting this war.
2. Compare the Atlantic Charter with President Wilson's Fourteen Points. What are the chief differences?
3. Discuss the Declaration of the United Nations. What further statement of aims by the United Nations is needed? What effects may be expected from such a statement?

4. What agencies should be organized during the war if we are to be able to meet the major problems of the transition period?

Suggested Readings

BONNET, HENRI. The United Nations: What they are—What they may become. World Citizens Association, Chicago, 1942, 100p., 25c.

COMMISSION TO STUDY THE ORGANIZATION OF PEACE. Comment on the Eight Point Declaration of President Roosevelt and Prime Minister Churchill, August 14, 1941. New York, 1941, 19p., 5c.

———. Third Report: The United Nations and the Organization of Peace. New York, 1943, 36p., *free*. (With supporting papers, 25c.)

JOHNSEN, JULIA E. (comp.) The "eight points" of Post War World Reorganization. The Reference Shelf Vol. 15, No. 5, H. W. Wilson Company, New York, 1942, 126p., \$1.25.

OFFICE OF WAR INFORMATION. Toward New Horizons: The World Beyond the War. A collection of representative speeches by Vice-President Wallace, Under-Secretary of State Welles, Ambassador Winant, Milo Perkins. Washington, D. C., 1942, 15p., *free*.

UNITED NATIONS INFORMATION OFFICE. War and Peace Aims: Extracts from Statements of United Nations Leaders. New York, 1943, 136p., 25c.

WOODROW WILSON MEMORIAL LIBRARY. Texts of: Woodrow Wilson's Fourteen Points—The Atlantic Charter's Eight Points. (Flyer, free in limited quantities.)

The United Nations Continuing Conference

If cooperation is to be developed, the United Nations should set up now a *continuing conference* made up of representatives of all their members. This conference need not always meet at the same place nor have exactly the same people meeting in it, but it must be "in session" almost continuously during the war and the period of transition. This is needed during the war if the United Nations are to win the quickest possible military victory. Just the news of the establishment would speed that victory. The conference could start by broadcasting the aims of the United Nations. It would build up the morale of the allied peoples and gain the support of those not in the war, and even of enemy peoples, especially as Axis military power declines.

The actual planning of military campaigns would not be done by this body because such planning has to be done quickly and secretly. The conference could, however, organize more fully the distribution of manpower and materials, and the problems of production and shipping. But the most important task of the conference would be to plan for the future, both for the period of reconstruction and for the establishment of a permanent world order. In this the development of the aims of the United Nations should play a large part and be the basis for a strategy for peace as well as a strategy for war. It is dangerous to leave in the hands of military commanders or of individual nations promises as to policies for the future. The conference of the United Nations should try to unify and make clear to all the world our aims in war and peace, and to develop the means for working out those aims.

Questions

1. Suggest a plan for calling together a United Nations Continuing Conference.
2. What do you think are the problems which such a conference should consider first?
3. What plan for representation in such a conference would you suggest?
4. What dangers arise from a lack of unified aims? Discuss instances of these dangers that have already shown up.
5. Discuss how a Continuing Conference of the United Nations might develop a strategy for peace.

Suggested Readings

- COMMISSION TO STUDY THE ORGANIZATION OF PEACE. Third Report: The United Nations and the Organization of Peace. New York, 1943, 36p., free. (With supporting papers, 25c.)
- MAURICE, SIR FREDERICK. "Unity of Policy Among Allies." *Foreign Affairs*, Vol. 21 (January 1943) p.322.
- WILD, PAYSON S. JR. Machinery of Collaboration Between the United Nations. Foreign Policy Reports (July 1, 1942), Foreign Policy Association, New York, 12p., 25c.
- WILLKIE, WENDELL L. One World. Simon and Schuster, New York, 1943, 86p., \$1.00.

Special Agencies

The continuing conference of the United Nations will need all sorts of special agencies if it is to succeed in the tremendous task.

Some of these will have to do with military cooperation to win the war and to occupy and administer many areas, especially in Europe and Asia. Others will have to concern themselves with the coordination of production and distribution of materials and the control of shipping. There must be agencies to feed and protect the health of people in occupied regions as well as to carry out reconstruction and reeducation.

There are already a good many agencies which the conference of the United Nations can use. Certain sections of the League of Nations still carry on their important work in Geneva and in this country. The International Labor Organization of which the United States is an active member has now its working center in Montreal. The Bank for International Settlements might be used to back new international financial agreements. The United Nations must develop those agencies set up during the war, and coordinate them with those older agencies built up in the pre-war years. New ones will also be needed.

Questions

1. Make a list of "special agencies" which you think would be needed by the Continuing Conference.
2. What agencies developed before this war can be used, and how? What agencies set up during the war?
3. Discuss ways in which some of these agencies could speed military victory and reconstruction.
4. To what extent should these special agencies be organized on a regional basis?
5. Discuss some steps already taken to put declared aims into effect.

Suggested Readings

COMMISSION TO STUDY THE ORGANIZATION OF PEACE. Lend-Lease Arrangements and United Nations Administrative Agencies. *Bulletin*, Vol. II (August-September 1942), 20p., 20c.

———. Inter-American Declarations and Administrative Agencies. *Bulletin*, Vol. II (October-November 1942), 24p., 20c.

CONDLIFFE, J. B. "Problems of Economic Reorganization" in *Third Report and Papers*, Commission to Study the Organization of Peace. New York, 1943, p.331, 25c.

INTERNATIONAL LABOR ORGANIZATION. The I.L.O. and Reconstruction: Report by the Acting Director of the International Labour Office to the Conference of the International Labour Organization, New York, 1941. Montreal, 1941, 112p., 50c.

- _____. Towards Our True Inheritance: the Reconstruction Work of the I.L.O. Montreal, 1942, 77p., 25c.
- KIRK, GRAYSON, AND SHARP, WALTER. Uniting Today for Tomorrow: the United Nations in War and Peace. Headline Books No. 37, Foreign Policy Association, New York, 1942, 95p., 25c.
- POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC PLANNING (PEP). "United Nations Economic Agencies." *Planning*, No. 195 (October 27, 1942), 20p., 25c. (Available at the office of *The New Republic*.)
- SWEETSER, ARTHUR. "The Non-Political Achievements of the League." *Foreign Affairs*, Vol. 19 (October 1940), p.179.

The Control of Force by Law

The Atlantic Charter looks toward a world in which man can live in freedom from fear. The United Nations entered this war to put down aggression. Most of us realize now that we are paying a far greater cost in fighting this war than we would have had to pay if we had built an international system strong enough to stop aggression wherever it started—as in Manchuria in 1931 and Ethiopia in 1935. There cannot possibly be any lasting victory in this war, therefore, unless out of it comes a system strong enough to stop aggression where it starts.

Force is inescapable in human affairs. It cannot just be abandoned; it must be controlled and used. No nation will disarm or give up its right to make war, no matter how stupid or costly war may be, until a substitute for war has been provided. This means that either nations are going to continue to make war or are going to organize an international system to which they give the power to control the use of force. To organize and maintain a system of international police is one of the basic tasks of the United Nations.

It will not be enough, however, just to set up an international police force strong enough to restrain nations from making war. We know from experience in our own community that a police force must be used together with a system to settle disputes, that is a system of courts. The international system suggested in the Atlantic Charter is definitely one based on international law. If this law of nations is going to be observed, it must be extended and strengthened. Nations must be compelled to submit their disputes to an international court and compelled to accept its decisions.

In their Declaration, the United Nations pledge themselves to protect "human rights" in the post-war world. This may mean

that these rights of men and women everywhere must be protected by international law.

We have found in our own community that we need not only courts but agencies which can make and change law. Peaceful change is carried out by domestic governments, therefore, not only through courts but through legislatures, parliaments, etc. The United Nations must organize not only a police power and a court system but will definitely have to plan an international assembly so that the code of international law can be changed so as to meet the changing needs of the peoples of the world.

Questions

1. Discuss the statement in the Atlantic Charter that "all of the nations of the world, for realistic as well as spiritual reasons, must come to the abandonment of the use of force." What was wrong about our attempts at disarmament after the last war?
2. Discuss how the United Nations might set about organizing an international police force.
3. How is the use of force controlled and directed in your own community? Why could you not live in freedom and dignity without it?
4. Discuss the work of the Permanent Court of International Justice. Why is such a Court essential? How might its work be made more effective?
5. What is the relation between legislatures and courts? Why are both necessary?

Suggested Readings

- CULBERTSON, ELY. Summary of the World Federation Plan: An Outline of a Practical and Detailed Plan for World Settlement. Garden City Publishing Company, New York, 1943, 64p., 50c.
- EAGLETON, CLYDE. "Peace Enforcement" in *Preliminary Report and Monographs*, Commission to Study the Organization of Peace. New York, 1941, p.281.
- HUDSON, MANLEY O. "Instruments Relating to the Permanent Court of International Justice." *International Conciliation* No. 388 (March 1943) p.137.
- LEAGUE OF NATIONS ASSOCIATION. Essential Facts Underlying World Organization. New York, 1940, 47p., 10c.
- PATCH, BUEL W. Enforcement of World Peace. Editorial Research Reports Vol. II, No. 16 (October 1941), Washington, D. C., \$1.00.

SHOTWELL, JAMES T. "War as an Instrument of Politics" in *Preliminary Report and Monographs*, Commission to Study the Organization of Peace. New York, 1941, p.14.

UNIVERSITIES COMMITTEE ON POST-WAR INTERNATIONAL PROBLEMS. Problem IV: Should There Be an International Organization Against Military Aggression, and Should the United States Participate in Such an Organization? Boston, 1943, 20p. (Free, in limited quantities.)

The Development of Welfare

The Atlantic Charter also points toward the realization of the desire of man to live in freedom from want and to develop the freedom and dignity of men's lives everywhere. We should realize that this cannot be done in a world organized for war. If a state must be ready to stand alone against the threat of modern war, it must organize its resources and its manpower for that purpose. This means not only that it will not be able to join in a system of international cooperation but that it will not be able to provide prosperity and welfare for its people. Readiness for war today means a long period of military preparation and an attempt to build up "economic nationalism" so that the nation will be self-sufficient as far as possible. It means also complete control of industry, production, wages, etc., and an increasing control over public opinion. All these things are absolutely out of line with rising standards of living, with the freedom and dignity of the individual, with democracy and national self-development. We can no more have prosperity and freedom in a world that expects war than we can have "freedom from fear" in such a world.

This means that the United Nations must begin to build an international system which will have some power in the economic and social fields as well as in the field of control of force by law. It would be foolish to think that we can soon have a world in which there will be absolutely no fear and absolutely no want. We have never been able to develop any sort of community entirely free of these things. The terrible lesson of two world wars in twenty-five years should teach us, however, that we must build a world in which there is the possibility of controlling violence to a large extent and eliminating want to a large degree. To attain this will take many years, and to attain it at all will mean that we must have many years with a reasonable sense of freedom from an immediate danger of another world war.

Questions

1. What are the human ideals that the Atlantic Charter looks toward realizing?
2. Give reasons why a nation living in the expectancy of war cannot realize these ideals.
3. What is economic nationalism? Show how it played a part in bringing about World War II.
4. What power in the economic field should an international system be given? How could the United Nations move towards this during the war?
5. What steps would the United States have to take to further economic cooperation among nations?

Suggested Readings

BROCKWAY, THOMAS. *Battles Without Bullets: The Story of Economic Warfare*. Headline Books No. 18, Foreign Policy Association, New York, 1939, 96p., 25c.

CONDLIFFE, J. B. "Problems of Economic Reorganization" in *Third Report and Papers*, Commission to Study the Organization of Peace. New York, 1943, p.331.

B. THE UNITED NATIONS DURING THE PERIOD OF RECONSTRUCTION

The period of transition must not be thought of as a "cooling off" period of calm meditation while people murder each other all over Europe and Asia. If it is to be a true period of transition from war to peace, it must be marked by the establishment of order and the successful binding up of the wounds of the war in both the physical and spiritual senses. This means that it must be a period of control by the United Nations since only the United Nations can possibly undertake this task. Such a period is the only way to escape too much haste in final decisions and the only way to provide for the gradual restoring of sane thinking as to the requirements for a permanent system of international order.

No man knows today how long it will take to defeat the Axis. But sooner or later our enemies may lay down their arms with abrupt suddenness. We must be prepared in advance for this if the United Nations are to have any hope of being well enough organized to take hold of the problems we shall have to face. Some of these problems we have discussed already. We must now

consider the agencies which the United Nations should set up to meet them.

Restoring Order

Wherever needed order should be restored and kept in the name of the United Nations as a whole. If possible it should be kept by the joint forces of the United Nations, not by the armies of any one nation alone. Such occupying forces should bring about the stable conditions under which the people of the regions occupied can choose their new governments.

The Atlantic Charter respects "the right of all peoples to choose the form of government under which they will live" and wants "sovereign rights and self-government restored." But while there should be a wide choice left to peoples, the choice cannot be for a government which would not recognize the rule of international law, nor the basic rights of the individual.

We know that there will be quarrels over the claims of different groups in many nations, each of which will want control. Such quarrels have already appeared in France, Yugoslavia, and elsewhere. There are sure to be difficult boundary disputes. Such a dispute has occurred between Poland and Russia. The United Nations will have to keep order in all areas where such disputes occur for varying lengths of time for the sake of the welfare of the people concerned.

We should work out in advance our plans for the treatment of the Axis powers when their military power is broken. Those plans should have as their guiding purpose to make possible the setting up of an organization of nations to carry out the principles of the Atlantic Charter, an organization which must include at some time the Axis nations themselves. We shall be faced with the job of policing the Axis nations for a time and of disarming them effectively. There will be the problem of the punishment of those who have been individually responsible for wholesale slaughter and for the ruin of so much of our world. Certainly, however, reconstruction rather than revenge should guide us in our treatment of the Axis nations. Whatever punishment is given to the leaders of these nations must be in accordance with the general principles of international law and on the basis of evidence which is being gathered as the war is being fought.

Questions

1. What should be the share of the United States in the job of restoring and maintaining order? In Axis countries? In areas now occupied by the Axis?

2. What dangers can you foresee if the United Nations do not plan in advance for joint occupation of Axis nations, restoration of order, etc.? What dangers if they do?
3. What restraint upon "choice of government" and "restoration of sovereign rights" may be needed? How would you plan to apply such restraint?
4. What methods would you suggest for settling boundary disputes?
5. Discuss the treatment of the peoples of the Axis nations. Of their leaders. Should we treat Germany, Italy and Japan alike?

Suggested Readings

- AKZIN, BENJAMIN. "Introduction to a Study of Occupation Problems" in *Third Report and Papers*, Commission to Study the Organization of Peace. New York, 1943, p.263.
- DEAN, VERA M. What Future for Germany. Foreign Policy Reports (February 1, 1943), 15p., 25c.
- THOMAS, ELBERT D. "What We Must Do With the War Criminals." *American Magazine* (February 1943), p.88.
- WRIGHT, QUINCY "Political Conditions of the Period of Transition" in *Second Report and Papers*, Commission to Study the Organization of Peace. New York, 1942, p.264.
- UNIVERSITIES COMMITTEE ON POST-WAR INTERNATIONAL PROBLEMS. Problem III: Treatment of Defeated Enemy Countries—Germany. Boston, 1943, 17p. (Free in limited quantities.)

Colonies

The Atlantic Charter wants all peoples to have a right to choose their own government, but we must remember that there will be many areas whose peoples have not had the education or opportunity to prepare themselves to take over complete control of their government at once. On the other hand, if the old "imperial" system of colonies should continue we would not be keeping faith with the promises of the Atlantic Charter. What shall be our plans for dependent areas?

We need to work out a system of "trusteeship" as the basis for our policy in these areas. Our goal should be their development to the point where they are able to govern themselves and to join an international order. The United Nations should aim at setting up a colonial authority in whose hands should be the administration of areas not yet ready for self-government. The Mandate system of the League of Nations offers some guidance

here, but that system did not work out just as it was hoped it would. We should plan in advance as to whether certain colonial areas had better remain under the control of the state which exercised such control before the war or exercises it now. In some cases the international authority might well take over direct administration at once. Certainly whether or not some political and economic control is left in the hands of certain nations, the international authority should check on protection of human rights in all such areas and on their liberation and admission to an international system at the earliest possible date.

Questions

1. What are the goals to be attained in administration of colonial areas?
2. What are the dangers of trying to continue a colonial system based on "imperialism"?
3. What was the "mandate system" as outlined in the covenant of the League of Nations? Give instances of its successes and failures. Should it be continued?
4. What conditions are necessary for self-government? What are the dangers of handing over government all at once to dependent peoples?
5. How would you suggest starting to set up an international colonial "authority"?

Suggested Readings

- GERIG, BENJAMIN and others. "Colonial Aspects of the Post-War Settlement" in *"Second Report and Papers, Commission to Study the Organization of Peace*. New York, 1942, p.195.
- HOLCOMBE, A. N. *Dependent Areas in the Post-War World*. World Peace Foundation (Pamphlet No. 4). Boston, 1941, 108p., 25c.
- KAPP, KARL W. "The League of Nations and Raw Materials, 1919-1939." *Geneva Studies*, Vol. 12, No. 3, Geneva Research Centre, 1941, 64p., 40c. (Available at Columbia University Press, New York.)
- LANGSAM, W. C. *In Quest of Empire: The Problem of Colonies*. Headline Books No. 19, Foreign Policy Association, New York, 1939, 96p., 25c.
- PHELPS-STOKES FOUNDATION COMMITTEE ON AFRICA, THE WAR AND PEACE AIMS. *The Atlantic Charter and Africa from an American Standpoint*. New York, 1942, 164p., 75c.

Relief and Rehabilitation

We realize that perhaps the most immediate post-war need will be the feeding of peoples in many parts of the world. The appointment of Governor Lehman as American Director of Foreign Relief and Rehabilitation Operations made clear that this particular post-war problem is recognized to be a part of the conduct of the war itself. A United Nations Food Conference has already been at work in this field. The United Nations should soon move for the setting up of a United Nations authority for relief and rehabilitation. Only in this way can all the agencies for relief which exist or which may be set up be coordinated in their efforts. Only thus can we meet the whole enormous problem of relief adequately. Certainly this work cannot be met by charity or private enterprise alone. Its aim should not be to set up a system in which certain nations live permanently on "hand-outs" from ourselves or others; its aim should be to help nations to get on their own feet.

The problem is more complicated than we at first realize. For instance, it involves estimating the needed amounts of food supplies and estimating the amount of shipping available to transport such supplies. It involves also repairing communications, ports, railways, highways, etc., in many parts of the world.

Moreover, relief cannot be separated from the problem of controlling disease and building up standards of nutrition. Epidemics always follow in the wake of wars. In this war millions have been under-nourished for years. In no other field is it more clear that a tremendous amount of preparation must be done during the fighting of the war if the United Nations are to be prepared to meet the problems of the immediate post-war period.

Questions

1. Discuss the relation between access to food supplies by all peoples and the chance of having an orderly world.
2. Discuss the ways and the extent to which "the promise of needed supplies may be a political weapon."
3. Discuss the work of the Health Organization of the League of Nations immediately after the last war and later. What does its experience suggest for the organization of similar work after this war?
4. What role is the United States to play in relief and rehabilitation?

5. Discuss the relation of relief to such problems as shipping, reconstruction, planned production, medical supplies. How can the United Nations organize to meet these related problems?

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Refugees

We are only beginning to be aware of the terrible problem of the millions uprooted by this war from their homes. All these people will want to return to their homes or must be located elsewhere. This will involve problems of transportation, passport control, medical care, housing and so forth. Certainly only an international agency set up by the United Nations can hope to deal with this tremendous task.

Moreover, the agency set up to deal with all this will have to continue not only during the period of transition but for many years, perhaps permanently. It must give advice on problems of immigration, development of unused lands, raising of standards of living. Its powers must also extend wherever certain races or creeds are oppressed. Here the agencies of the League of Nations and the International Labor Organization as well as the efforts of private charity can help considerably. But nothing short of a refugee office organized by the United Nations will do. Failure to be prepared for great movements of population will mean starvation and disease, confusion and suffering, a loss of basic human rights and an increase of crime and disorder. If they can be prepared to meet these problems efficiently, the United Nations

will have an opportunity through doing so to gain the respect and confidence of peoples all over the world.

Questions

1. List the main areas where masses of people have been uprooted. To what extent will the defeat of the Axis make possible their return?
2. What problems must be faced in planning to open new areas capable of development for refugees?
3. What were some of the different and most critical refugee problems after the last war? What did the League of Nations attempt to do with regard to these problems?
4. Discuss the relation of the refugee problem to problems of raising standards of living and protecting human rights.
5. What concessions should the United States be prepared to make to meet the problem of refugees?

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Social Reconstruction

A time will come when the emergency tasks of relief and rehabilitation, and those of taking care of refugees and the migration of people must be merged in a permanent world organization for social welfare. For individual nations by their own efforts

alone cannot assure such welfare any more. We have already discussed the reasons why freedom from want like freedom from fear should be organized on an international basis, but we need to consider in more detail what such organization will really mean. This means considering the need for minimum standards of health, housing, nutrition, social security. It means having our own country and its allies estimate in advance how much they should do especially in the immediate post-war years to provide opportunity for other peoples. The purpose in doing this must not be to set up a permanent system of charity, but to aid men and women now helpless through the ruin of war to help themselves by building up means of livelihood and systems of social security in their own lands.

Success in this field will depend largely on the willingness of national governments to lead the way. Two outstanding examples of such national effort are the Beveridge Report in Great Britain and the report from our own National Resources Planning Board. It is noteworthy that Nazi propaganda has busily tried to discredit all suggestions for social security programs coming from us and our allies. This itself proves their importance.

The same social standards cannot be expected from all nations. In some areas conditions of health, sanitation, and nutrition are still terribly low, and it will take many years to build them up to a satisfactory level. We need to remember, however, that in the long run helping people in other parts of the world to a decent chance to live is necessary if we are to maintain our own standards. For hopeless distress would make another war certain.

Questions

1. What goals should we have in mind in developing systems of social security?
2. What agreements are there for believing that our standard of living will be more lastingly secure if standards of living elsewhere are gradually raised?
3. How might we best plan to set up a minimum standard of living for all in our own country?
4. What contributions has the International Labor Organization made to the advancement of social welfare? What further contributions can it make?
5. How should the United Nations move now and through the transition from war to peace to set up a permanent organization for social welfare?

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Economic Reconstruction

We have already discussed the fact that in such a world as ours has become no one nation alone can long assure the welfare of its citizens. A world in which each nation tries to cling to economic nationalism means that no people will long have economic security. The Atlantic Charter points out that there must be "access to markets" if there is to be any hope of a flow of international trade large enough to prevent going back to those economic barriers that have so much to do with the cause of war in our modern world. But merely dropping the bars to international trade will not be enough; there must be positive action as well. Economic development must be thought of in international rather than just national terms. For example, how can we best assure maintaining a high level of production and a high level of employment? Can we hope to do this for any length of time on the basis of economic nationalism? Or can we do these things better if plans for industrial and agricultural development spring up in all parts of the world, thus providing opportunities for investment and markets.

Any such plans for world wide economic development, however, will definitely need agencies to administer them. The United Nations must try to develop these agencies, but they will face the opposition of small groups in many countries which will fear the changes which such international development may bring and which may represent temporary losses to these groups. These are the groups which will try to maintain high tariffs and monopoly for certain nations on certain industrial and agricultural products.

How can we be ready to combat the influence of such groups on our legislatures even though we know that the cost of ridding the world of economic war is little compared with the cost of depression and unemployment in continuing it. Advance toward a better world economy will depend largely upon the leadership of great industrial powers particularly the United States and Britain. Only if we are determined to develop such an "expanding economy" can it be organized. We need to consider here several of the agencies that may be needed and which thus should be organized by the United Nations. We might bring these together in a United Nations Development Authority. Such a great international agency would undertake to find capital and labor for international public works such as great international highways and flood control projects, etc. In planning this sort of world economic development, we should try to encourage private enterprise and private initiative as much as possible.

Questions

1. What reasons can you give for believing that we cannot long be prosperous in a world of want? What reasons for believing we can be prosperous by and for ourselves alone?
2. What does "access to markets" really mean? How is it related to living standards and business opportunity?
3. What groups do tariffs really protect? How can we overcome the opposition of these groups to reducing tariffs?
4. In what sort of world will private enterprise have the best opportunity? To what extent should it be encouraged? Restrained?
5. What agencies should the United Nations start to organize for an "expanding economy"? Suggest some international development projects for the period of reconstruction.

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Education

Not all reconstruction is concerned with rebuilding of cities, or roads or homes. Perhaps even more important is the reconstruction of the mind and spirit that must be a part of winning any lasting victory.

In many parts of the world doctrines have been taught that deny the basic values of religion, that denounce democracy, that claim that the individual has no importance as compared with the state. In these parts of the world, education has been used for nationalistic propaganda, for the teaching of creeds of "blood and soil" and hate. We shall not long rid our world of war unless we see to it that in the period of transition there is a return to the appreciation of the basic values of religion, of democracy and the importance of the individual. Education must be used to develop an understanding of the reasons why these values are important and of the role they have played in the development of a world in which man has gradually progressed. The United Nations must be studying how this can best be done and perhaps looking toward setting up a permanent international office of education, which must have some degree of supervision over the educational policies of all nations.

As an immediate problem we shall be faced with the ruin of the educational systems of most of Europe and Asia brought about by Germany and Japan. But overcoming the damage in these areas is only a part of the long process of directing education so it may play an important part in building up loyalty to the idea of international cooperation.

Questions

1. Discuss the use of "education" as a preparation for war in Axis nations and its use by them in conquered lands.
2. To what extent can we hope to re-educate Axis peoples? By what means can this best be accomplished?
3. What new directions in our own education should be developed?
4. What steps are we taking during the war to prepare to do our part in re-education? Should we plan to "teach democracy"?
5. How could an international office of education be organized? What should be the scope of its work?

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C. TOWARD A PERMANENT WORLD ORDER

The period of transition, that of control by the United Nations, must be followed by the setting up of a general international system. Not until this final step has been taken can we feel that the gains of the war are really secure or that our victory is going to be a lasting one. The chance for success in doing so will depend largely upon the success of the United Nations in organizing

many of the agencies which will be needed by a permanent world system as well as upon the sincerity and efficiency of their administration of these agencies. We know today that many people doubt that the United Nations are really going to act during their period of control in the name of the community of nations and for the welfare of all men. Furthermore we can understand very well the reasons for such doubts. We have not yet stated clearly enough what our policies are going to be with regard to colonial areas, to the peoples of the East, and to those who have by reason of race or creed been denied an equal opportunity in many lands.

Perhaps the most urgent need for the future is that the United Nations be welded together so closely by the emergency of war that their union can withstand the effects of post-war reaction. Since the United States, Russia, Britain and China will have to bear the major burden of the tasks of establishing order, developing economic cooperation, and carrying on relief and rehabilitation, it is imperative that these four great powers stand together in peace as well as in war. We must understand the difficulties that exist between them; we must try to overcome the suspicions that divide them.

Between the United States and Great Britain upon whose agreement so much depends, there is a foundation for mutual trust and cooperation. On the other hand, we have suspicions of Britain's "imperialism" and wonder if she is really going to speed the liberation of peoples still subject to her control. Britain on the other hand wonders whether we are going to give leadership, as no other nation can do, to a move for the reduction of barriers to international trade.

Any attempt by Britain and the United States not to give Russia an absolutely equal part in the reorganization of the world will bring disaster. There is a long heritage of suspicion by Russia of the capitalist countries and by the capitalist countries of Russia. This must be succeeded by sufficient trust and tolerance on both sides to make possible cooperation in the post-war years. Creation of a permanent system of world order will depend largely upon the ability of the democracies to demonstrate to Russia that they will do their part in any such system, and upon the ability of Russia to convince the democracies that she will do hers. The people of China are wondering whether they too will be given equality in the partnership of the United Nations. We and the British have already renounced our extra-territorial privileges in China, but that is merely a first step. Any attempt to dominate

China politically or economically any longer will bring a resentment that may well be one of the causes of a future great war between East and West. We need right now to have more definite assurances that the promises of the Atlantic Charter are to apply to the Orient as well as to the Western world. It must be shown to the Chinese and to the other peoples of the Orient that we really intend to build a world together with them in which they also will have a fair chance to live in dignity and freedom. In planning to do so we must now think through the difficult problems of popular representation in international assemblies, the role that Oriental peoples will play in organizing their part of the world, and in developing its resources.

Our own role in all of this is of the greatest importance. Other people remember that in the first world war we walked out on them at the moment of victory, and refused to continue that cooperation with others by which we had won that war and might have won that peace. We need to give concrete assurances during this war that this tragic error will not be repeated. For this we need a statement by Congress as well as announcements of plans by the Administration. Until other peoples know that the United States will stand by the organization of a world of order and opportunity they cannot be expected themselves to give assurances of what their own policies will be.

If we are to succeed in building through cooperation in war and in the period of transition a system of international order, enough people in enough lands must realize that their own security, welfare and freedom can be found only through such a system. There is no more important battleground on which the fight to win the peace will be fought than the minds of the people of our own nation upon whose leadership so much depends. We need to think through the best means of getting enough people to realize what a tremendous difference it will make to their own future whether or not we emerge from this ordeal into a world of international order or into a world of anarchy, want and war.

Questions

1. What factors will determine the proper time for ending the period of control by the United Nations and setting up a general international system?
2. Discuss reasons why certain peoples doubt the good faith of the United Nations. What could best remove these doubts?
3. What influences in the immediate post-war period are most

apt to cause disagreement among Britain, China, Russia and the United States?

4. Discuss the interests which make for cooperation between Britain and the United States. Those that may cause trouble between them.
5. Discuss possible difficulties between Russia and the United States.
6. Discuss the best basis for harmony between China and the Western nations.
7. What definite pledges should the United States make during the war with regard to its part in building an international system? In what fields should we give powers to such a system?
8. What form will the new doctrine of isolation probably take in our country? How can we overcome the arguments for isolation? What differences will it make in our own lives whether we return to isolation or help to build a world community?

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Directory of Agencies From Which Pamphlet Material May Be Ordered

The Brookings Institution, 722 Jackson Place, Washington, D. C.
Chamber of Commerce of the United States, Washington, D. C.

Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, 405 West 117th
Street, New York City.

Commission to Study the Organization of Peace, 8 West 40th
Street, New York City.

Editorial Research Reports, 1013 13th Street, N. W., Washington,
D. C.

Foreign Policy Association, 22 East 38th Street, New York City.

Geneva Research Centre. Publications of the Geneva Research
Centre are available at Columbia University Press, 2960 Broadway,
New York City.

Institute of Pacific Relations, 129 East 52nd Street, New York City.

League of Nations Association, 8 West 40th Street, New York City.

National Association of Manufacturers, 14 West 49th Street, New
York City.

National Planning Association, 800 21st Street, N. W., Washing-
ton, D. C.

National Resources Planning Board, Washington, D. C.

Office of War Information, Washington, D. C.

Political and Economic Planning (PEP). Publications issued by
this group are available at *The New Republic*, 40 East 49th
Street, New York City.

Public Affairs Committee. Publishers of Public Affairs Pamphlets,
30 Rockefeller Plaza, New York City.

United States Office of Education, Washington, D. C.

United Nations Information Office, 610 Fifth Avenue, New
York City.

Universities Committee on Post-War International Problems, 40
Mount Vernon Street, Boston, Mass.

World Citizens Association, 86 East Randolph Street, Chicago, Ill.

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